Human Events *A Weekly Analysis for the American Citizen*
Editorial Office 1710 Rhode Island Ave., N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. *Telephone* NATIONAL 2066
VOL. VII, No. 40, *Issue Number* 349, OCTOBER 4, 1950 ★ *Editor:* FRANK C. HANIGHEN

VICTORY -- FIVE YEARS AFTERWARD

by William Henry Chamberlin

Five years to the day after Japan's formal surrender was received with pomp and ceremony on the battleship "Missouri" American troops were fighting a bitter, no-quarter war against Koreans -- one of the peoples in order to liberate whom we fought Japan. Here is the full dramatic measure of the lost peace of World War II, of the failure to reap the expected fruits from military victory.

There was little sense of a "happy ending" after World War I. As the years passed it became increasingly clear that the world had been made safe not for democracy, but for creeds of violence, tyranny and aggression, for Communism and Fascism. Still, after Armistice Day, 1918, the United States enjoyed two decades of freedom from fear of foreign attack. The traditional American way of life was maintained in the sense that conscription and backbreaking appropriations for military purposes were avoided.

Very different has been the five-year aftermath of World War II. Despite the widespread assumption, of advocates of intervention in 1940 and 1941, that if Germany, Japan and Italy were crushed we would all live happily ever afterward, America has not experienced a moment of true peace and security since the surrender of Germany and Japan.

We have been spending on armaments and subsidies to foreign countries sums far in excess of the total average budget in the Thirties. By 1948 the international situation was already so threatening that it was found necessary to restore the peacetime draft. Yet the experience in Korea and the present state of Western Europe, almost naked in the face of possible Soviet aggression, suggest that we have done too little and have scarcely received full value for our expenditures.

From the dream world of perpetual peace through perpetual appeasement of Stalin's dictatorship we have moved through the phase of cold war into a shooting war of uncertain ultimate scope in Korea. The bankruptcy of all the basic assumptions of Franklin D. Roosevelt's foreign policy is complete and unmistakable. Seldom has a nation been compelled by the iron logic of events to reverse so many of the features of its foreign policy so quickly.

Copyright 1950 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Czechoslovakia, Poland, China, Korea . . . What an ascending scale of tragic irony one associates with these names! These were the maidens in distress whom we were supposed to save from the grasp of Germany and Japan, with the prospect, supposedly, of enjoying their permanent friendship and gratitude. But the first three of these countries -- at least -- must now be counted hostile Powers, with their man power and natural resources organized against us.

There has been swift retribution for the disgraceful betrayal of our friends, and the attempted appeasement of our enemies in Poland. The satellite status of Poland, now little more than an outlying province of the Soviet empire, has been emphasized by placing the Soviet Marshal Rokossovsky in charge of the Polish armed forces.

The resources of the Polish Government, regardless of the sympathies of the subjugated people of Poland, are at the Kremlin's disposal. It is the same story with Czechoslovakia. Like all the Iron Curtain countries, Czechoslovakia since February, 1948, has made a specialty of arresting American citizens and insulting American diplomats, casting both in the role of villains in highly imaginative treason trials.

After sacrificing tens of thousands of American lives and expending vast economic resources in order to save China from Japan the American Government stood passive, fumbling and apparently shell-shocked while China passed under the regime of a Soviet-dominated Communist regime far more dangerous to our security than the weak satellite administrations which Japan formerly created in China. When Communist-incited students put on demonstrations with the slogan "Goddam GI, go home" the least reflective GI must have wondered why he ever fought for this unappreciative country in the first place.

Korea is a climax in unfolding post-war disillusionment. The casualties in the Korean war were very recently mounting up as fast as the losses in some stages of the war against Japan. For the unfavorable circumstances in which this war began both the State and the Defense departments cannot escape a heavy load of responsibility.

If there was no intention to defend Korea why are we fighting there at all? If there was an intention to defend that country the failure either to leave a token American Occupation force or to build up a South Korean army which would match the Soviet forces in North Korea man for man, tank for tank, gun for gun, was inexcusable.

Incidentally the blunder of Korea has been duplicated on a larger scale in Germany. By refusing to the Bonn government, up to the present time, sufficient military and police forces to deal with a possible in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cursion of Soviet-armed Germans from the Soviet zone the Western Powers have been almost asking for a still larger and more dangerous Korea in Berlin or on the Elbe.

III

The fundamental cause of the sorry aftermath of the military victory five years ago was the complete misunderstanding by the Roosevelt administration of the nature and aims of the Soviet dictatorship. There was no excuse for this misunderstanding.

The grand design of Lenin and Stalin -- world conquest through a combination of subversion and military power -- was the most open conspiracy ever set on foot. It was spelled out in the minutest details in the authoritative writings of Lenin and Stalin, in the binding resolutions of Comintern and Communist Party congresses.

Soviet aggression and bad faith had been repeatedly demonstrated before and during the war. The seizure, in complicity with Hitler, of eastern Poland and the Baltic states violated a number of treaties, concluded at the initiative of the Soviet Government. The last act of the expiring League of Nations was to expel the Soviet Union from membership for its unprovoked invasion of Finland.

Soviet conduct after the war is sometimes described as an unwarranted, unpredictable surprise. But it could have been foreseen, down to the smallest detail, by any reasonably intelligent student of the Soviet philosophy, of the Soviet historical record.

However, the opinion of such students was not sought by FDR and his right-hand man in directing wartime foreign policy, Harry Hopkins. It was the amateurs, the wishful thinkers, in some cases the fellow travellers, who enjoyed official favor. American wartime policy developed two main features: all-out appeasement of Stalin, regardless of the promises of the Atlantic Charter and the plainest dictates of America's own security, and complete smashing of Germany and Japan, with consequent destruction of the balance of power both in Europe and in Asia.

Indeed these two features were opposite sides of the same coin. Only if the Soviet Government could be relied on to function as a cooperative do-gooder after the end of the war was it safe and expedient to create gigantic power vacuums in the Eurasian continent, the heart land of Mackinder's geo-political imagination.

IV

It is interesting to recall, in connection with the question whether Roosevelt's attitude toward Stalin during the war could be fairly characterized by the word appeasement, that Forrest Davis used the following expression in a semi-official article, read and approved

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the President, and published by the Saturday Evening Post in May, 1944: "The core of his [Roosevelt's] policy has been the reassurance of Stalin. . . . Suppose that Stalin, in spite of all concessions, should prove unappeasable" (Italics supplied).

As for the insight of Harry Hopkins into Soviet designs and the shape of things to come, one need only quote the following observations from a memorandum which he composed as late as the summer of 1945, when the pattern of Soviet aggressive expansion had certainly been revealed (Roosevelt and Hopkins, by Robert E. Sherwood, p. 922):

> "We know or believe that Russia's interests, so far as we can anticipate them, do not afford an opportunity for a major difference with us in foreign affairs. We believe we are mutually dependent upon each other for economic reasons. We find the Russians as individuals easy to deal with. The Russians undoubtedly like the American people. They like the United States. They trust the United States more than they trust any Power in the world. I believe they not only have no wish to fight with us, but are determined to take their place in world affairs in an international organization, and above all they want to maintain friendly relations with us."

The bitter fruit of these illusions, which conceded to a revolutionary dictatorship with unlimited ambitions a dominant position in Europe and in Asia, is now being paid in the blood of American soldiers in Korea.

While some of these illusions have been shed under the impact of events during these last five years the record of the Truman administration in foreign affairs offers many shining targets for criticism. There is the loss of China. There is the backing and filling on Formosa and the lamentable unpreparedness for a long prepared Communist thrust in Korea. Against the brave words of denunciation of Communism one must set the sympathy of the Secretary of State with Alger Hiss, the official amnesia about the Amerasia case, the conspicuous unwillingness to take the lid off the many scandals indicated by the testimony of Whittaker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley.

The Republican campaign in 1948 was waged on a basis of dewy platitudes, in foreign as in domestic affairs. A booklet which contained a severe documented arraignment of Roosevelt's foreign policy was kept out of use and circulation. Perhaps more militant tactics in 1950 will make an impression on many voters who, without expert knowledge of foreign affairs, feel that something must have gone wrong when victory in the Second World War leads so quickly to the brink of a Third.

Quotation up to a paragraph is permitted with credit to HUMAN EVENTS. For reproduction or more extensive quotation address requests to HUMAN EVENTS, 1710 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Trial subscription, three months for $3. Six months, $5.50. One year, $10. Two years, $18. Domestic airmail (including APO and FPO) one year, $12.00; foreign (regular mail) one year, $11. Foreign airmail rates on request. Please remit in U.S.A. DOLLARS. Allow two weeks for new subscriptions or change of address to become effective.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events Vol. VII, No. 40

By Frank C. Hanighen October 4, 1950

LOVETT: When Marshall's appointment was announced two weeks ago, we interpreted it as victory for the Left Wing of the Administration. But, we added, it would be necessary to wait and see whom Marshall appointed as his assistants. The past week provided one answer -- in the nomination of Robert A. Lovett to the position of Deputy Secretary of Defense. It was immediately noticeable that the Right showed warm approval, the Left restrained comment. We do not know how Mr. Lovett will work out, but his record does not afford too much comfort to the appeasement crowd.

Looking over our files, we find the following about Mr. Lovett, back in 1947 when he took up his duties as Under Secretary of State. On August 20, 1947, this column, recalling Lovett's service in the Pentagon during the last war, said: "Mr. Lovett was never the dupe of fellow traveller propaganda during the war as were so many of his colleagues in the Pentagon. As Assistant Secretary of War for Air, Lovett had a keen and farseeing view of what was likely to come in Europe after the end of the conflict. It is a little known fact that, in May, 1945, directly after the German surrender, Lovett wrote a report which recommended to the Chief of Staff and the President that peace treaties should be negotiated immediately, without any delay. He warned that Soviet Russia could only be influenced by the presence of force; and that, if merely verbal methods of suasion were used, a bad peace would result. If the American Army and Air Force were in Europe on a war footing, American treaty makers would succeed in obtaining an enduring European settlement. And, he further warned, the Army and Air Force would be drastically demobilized within a year following the German surrender. The report was ignored."

In his service as Under Secretary of State to Marshall, Lovett generally but not always reflected the ideas of the General Staff, or at least tried to accommodate policies to the military's conceptions. It was significant that Lovett resigned when Marshall did, in January, 1949, and when Acheson and appeasement reappeared. It is not known just what his real ideas are on Far Eastern policy, but it is probable that he will follow the traditional Marshall course in that area.

* * * * *

MacARTHUR: During the past week, praise (even from the Administration) for MacArthur's brilliant victory was widespread, remarkably so for this Capital where there has been a definite policy of obscuring MacArthur's accomplishments. Among military men -- Army, Air and Navy -- admiration is effusive over his daring and successful strategy. But the point most frequently made is that "Mac" achieved a miraculous victory by an unprecedented use of Allied native man power. One military observer writes us, as follows: "Did you ever see a strategical plan work out like MacArthur's? His real secret was to put some 50 to 75 thousand Koreans in our own units. Thus, almost by magic, he had an army of around 200 to 225 thousand, rather than the 150,000 commonly estimated.

"I know nothing like it, and I think I know my military history. Formerly, we would create new units for Allies -- a long time-consuming process. However, MacArthur proceeded on the principle that once you have trained cadres, it does not take long to fit new men into the cadres. Accordingly, he filled up the cadres with Koreans, instead of taking a long time creating new Korean units, or waiting for American reinforcements to arrive. The General took risks, of course, in thus 'fattening' our units with Koreans, whose military training was light and whose morale was doubtful. But the gamble paid off in victory. I know no one who has ever done this before."

* * * * *

Copyright 1950 by Human Events, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MURPHY: The man who successfully prosecuted Alger Hiss -- Thomas F. Murphy -- has appeared in a new role, as Police Commissioner for New York City, appointed by Acting Mayor Impelliteri. Although he has shown characteristic vigor in his handling of police matters, it is regarded as certain that Murphy will not long fill this position. The Impelliteri bid for election is given scant chance to win the municipal contest. It is assumed that either Ferdinand Pecora, the regular Democratic candidate, or Edward Corsi, the GOP contender, will win the mayoralty. Therefore it is highly probable that Thomas F. Murphy will be out of municipal office within three months; neither a Pecora nor a Corsi regime would be likely to retain a high official of the Impelliteri regime.

But, Murphy's present job might prove a stepping stone to office on a national plane. At least, one hears talk that Murphy should be appointed to the anti-subversive board which will be set up to direct the enforcement of the McCarran-Mundt-Nixon legislation (passed recently over Truman's veto). Murphy's experience in the Hiss trials should qualify him for an assignment to track down the Reds. But would Mr. Truman name Mr. Murphy to such a board? The President may make recess appointments to this vital enforcement board before the elections, and with his well-known preference for Left Wingers Murphy might well be passed over. But when Congress returns, the Senate will pass on the recess appointments. Hence, there may arise an opportunity and public demand for the naming of such proved anti-Communist experts as Murphy for this decisive board.

* * * * *

RECONSTRUCTION IN KOREA: Edna Lonigan reports -- Washington has been wrapped in smog. In the morning the sun was blue. At night the trees loomed solidly out of a dense fog, and the houses stood up against the sky line like the setting for a psychological mystery play. The political scene has also been enveloped in dense smog -- especially our policy in Korea.

"American sources" have announced a peace program for Korea, with six points. But the points are all stated in State Department double talk. They can be understood only by studying what is written in invisible ink. Item four is the kernel of the nut. It says Korea is to be a "pilot project" in reconstruction, in which all the resources of UN (?) are to be called upon. This is simply our old friend Point Four. The UN is to use Korea to stage a dramatic exhibit, a Potemkin demonstration, of how wonderfully the planners can make Asia over.

The State Department makes no small plans. It has its plans all ready for siphoning off billions of our "surplus" wealth, to provide the capital for its gigantic experiment in bringing all new enterprise under a Socialist planning elite. Korea will be the "pilot project" to sell reluctant Americans on the importance of voting the initial funds with which to get started. There is a sound American way to help undeveloped areas, but we shall hear nothing of it.

"If there is considerable suspicion around that Korea is intended to be the grave of the American free economy", says the Saturday Evening Post editorially, "the fault is surely the Administration's. An Administration which has moved heaven and earth to bring about the adoption of all sorts of semi-Socialistic measures and relies on the advice of Neo-Keynesian economists and soothsayers can hardly complain if the people smell a rat." The comment was made about price controls, but it is equally applicable to Korean "reconstruction".

* * * * *

THE NEW YORK POLITICAL KETTLE: Miss Lonigan continues -- The political situation in New York is a case study in the new political alignments under the old party labels. The present setup stems from LaGuardia's long reign. He knew that Fusion

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

candidates were not re-elected because they had no political machine. So LaGuardia set out to make one. He used the Federal funds pouring into New York, and the Communist dominated labor unions, and with the help of Sidney Hillman created a political machine which kept him in power and gave Hillman and his aides, with New York's 90 electoral votes, the decisive power in the Democratic Party for the third and fourth terms.

Tammany had been forced by competition to admit the same Communist influences. Wagner had for years submitted to taking pro-Communists on his staff. The Communist influence helped elect O'Dwyer. He was no Communist, though his brother was a member of the fellow traveller Lawyers' Guild. But he was a true believer in the welfare slogans with which the Communists extend their rule.

Who will take his place? The candidate who will win in the three-cornered election will be the one preferred by the so-called Labor leaders, the political action heads of the CIO-PAC-LPE. But their objective is not just the mayoralty. They must protect Lehman at all costs. He has been one of the most consistent fighters in Congress for everything the PAC ordered. They never let a supporter down. The outlook then is for a trade by which Dewey and Lehman will get the election. After all what does the PAC lose by electing Dewey? The Times Herald recently ran a cartoon showing Dewey delivering a bedraggled elephant to Acheson's door. Dewey has said emphatically that it is not the business of the Opposition party to oppose.

PAC's first objective is to rout any remnants of the old leadership in the Democratic Party. They prefer to let the party lose (as they did when Farley won the nomination for Bennett for Governor) rather than to let it win under other control. This explains the strange case of President Truman's attack on Byrnes just six weeks before election day. The PAC fears a revived Democratic Party more than it fears the Republicans just now. Every election in every Congressional district is part of the same battle, for control of the next Congress by this powerful political machine.

* * * * *

REVISIONISM: Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., has made some statements in a recent article in Harper's which should be corrected. Says he: "Charles A. Beard, the intellectual leader of the isolationist wing of the revisionists, dedicated two volumes to a trenchant attack upon the very foundations of Roosevelt's pre-war policy -- a scorching indictment which a number of isolationist journalists, such as John T. Flynn and George Morgenstern have lived off ever since . . ." For the record: The Beard volumes to which Schlesinger refers were American Foreign Policy in the Making (concerned with U.S. foreign policy in the 1930s) published in August, 1946, and President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941, published in 1948. The latter volume dealt with events leading up to and including Pearl Harbor.

Now, as a matter of fact, John T. Flynn's The Truth About Pearl Harbor was published in 1945, three years before Beard's work on the subject. Morgenstern's Pearl Harbor was published in January, 1947, a year before Beard. (Beard read the Morgenstern book in manuscript.) Not only are these things true, but Flynn, with outside money, organized a research group that went to work on the Pearl Harbor mystery before the Joint Congressional Investigation (Sept., 1945 - July, 1946) ever got under way. The materials quarried out by the Flynn group were made freely available to Beard as fast as they appeared. It is no reflection on Beard (whose fight against the Administration's foreign policy earned the gratitude of many), to underscore Flynn's long and honorable labors, carried on during the war years while he was a favorite target for vilification by the Administration's troupe of historical perversionists.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Events

Wintertime, by Jan Valtin. New York: Rinehart and Company. $3.50. Reviewed by Freda Utley.

Valtin's first book, Out of the Night, sold "a million copies in a dozen languages" and was "digested" in Life and the Reader's Digest. His latest, Wintertime, has been given the silent treatment, or damned with faint praise in the papers which make or break books. The only explanation to be found for this disparity is that Wintertime deals with German sufferings and despair under Western Occupation, which is of course a far less popular subject than Nazi or even Communist crimes. As I remember, Life's selections from Valtin's earlier book were confined to his account of Gestapo tortures and Nazi crimes, and omitted most of the book's revelations concerning the workings of the world-wide Communist conspiracy, and the horrors of Stalin's Russia, which were the main subjects dealt with in Out of the Night.

Valtin's publishers have done their best for his latest book by stating that "it is also the terrible story of blackmarketeers and of the Nazis whose beliefs live on after complete defeat". But the book does not, in fact, concern itself much with former Nazis, and the leading blackmarketeer character is rather a decent fellow. One of the villains, it is true, is a former SS man, who returns, a living skeleton with his mind unhinged, after suffering as a prisoner of war in Russia all the horrors which he had formerly inflicted on others. But the villains who are responsible for most of the evil done in the book are Communists, and its main theme is the effort made by decent Germans to maintain life and human dignity in the chaos and misery of their defeated country, where, under American Occupation, hard work and honesty cannot secure even minimum food requirements and shelter.

The hero of the book is Martin Helm, a sea captain whose internment in America has saved him from experiencing the horrors of both the war and "liberation". But he has the misfortune to fall in love with a Baltic victim of Communist terror, who has stowed away on an American troopship, but is discovered in time to be thrown off at sea onto the deck of Martin's tug. She can henceforth live with him only as a hidden fugitive, wanted by both the Russian and American police. After a few months of hungry happiness together in a cellar, the girl, Lisa, is discovered and delivered over to the Russians, and Martin himself becomes a fugitive, because in an excess of rage he has beaten to death the Communist member of his crew who is trying to blackmail him to deliver Lisa to the NKVD. Martin's efforts to save Lisa, with the help of her brother, who is one of the leaders of an anti-Communist underground organization, ends with a melodramatic chase at sea, which leads to his own imprisonment by the Americans. However, Lisa is saved and Martin escapes the death penalty. The book ends on a note of hope with an old German Socialist journalist striking out the lines he has written about an "empty stomach producing pain, not liberty", and writing instead, "Springtime arises most beautifully in lands where the winter is harshest".

Hollywood has apparently exerted too great influence on Valtin's writing, or perhaps he hoped that by including incidents which recall Wild West melodramas he might overcome American aversion to a tale of German suffering and German misery.

The American Occupation plays only a minor role in the narrative. The Americans appear rather in the role of the Gods in Lucretius' philosophy -- as too far removed from human suffering to care. Or, as Lisa expresses it: "They have not suffered as Europeans have suffered; how should they know?" Martin, who is accused by one German of being "sentimental like an American", says that he trusts Americans because they are honest with others, but worries about their incapacity to be honest with themselves. He says of us, "Convinced of their own superiority they believe they are a new super race, their belief in their own benevolence is what hurts."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

European Supplement *to* Human Events Vol. VII, No. 40

By Marion Dönhoff HAMBURG -- October, 1950

INVASION FROM THE EAST: During the meeting of the Council of the Atlantic Pact in New York, the French paper Figaro stated that it had absolutely authentic information of a peace treaty which was to be concluded between Soviet Russia and the whole of Germany at any moment. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty the Russians were to withdraw behind the Oder-Neisse line, and then the moment would arrive when the police of the Eastern zone would start to move into the Western zones. Meanwhile Moscow would sit in the background pretending innocence.

This certainly not very reliable information was made the less credible by reason of the date of its publication, which very clearly showed that it was to allay official French misgivings regarding the remilitarization of Germany. For this purpose the danger of the Eastern zone police march into Western Germany had to be made so very likely that the formation of German military divisions in the Federal Republic appeared to be the only means of salvation.

Notwithstanding the questionable character of the news, the article in Figaro is worth mentioning because it gives such a vivid picture of the possible dangers that one only begins to realize them after reading the article. The report asserts that it is intended to increase the strength of the police of the Eastern zone to 300,000 men, that the degree of training and the armament of the units already in existence is "considerably better than the official Paris press will admit". The supreme command would be given to a German general whose name is popular in the West as well and who outwardly has not been compromised as being subservient to Moscow. To supplement this, one need only imagine these units clothed in the old German uniforms and marching with black, white and red flags in order to lift the whole thing out of the present controversy between East and West.

When we in Western Germany think of the police of the Eastern zone we see before our eyes a fanatical unit in black uniform as it appears at the march past puppet President Pieck; red flags, political commissars and all the paraphernalia of Eastern totalitarianism. It has become sort of a set picture: that is what the police of the Eastern zone looks like!

What a different picture, on the other hand, when one reads the description of Figaro. And really, what would happen if one day formations in the old uniforms did march into Western Germany from Eastern Germany? Fairhaired boys from Pomerania and Brandenburg looking like those who ten years ago marched against the East and for whose return so many parents, brothers and sisters have waited in vain. Who would have the heart to shoot at them?

It is a nightmare which, thank God, will probably never materialize because the Soviets do believe in their own pattern of civil war -- however, one should occasionally think of the Figaro version.

* * *

THE GUARANTEE FOR WESTERN GERMANY: The best insurance against a civil war in Germany similar to the war in Korea is doubtless the guarantee which has now been given for Western Germany by the decision of the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York. It is a better safeguard than the formation of German military divisions could ever have been.

The Second World War could perhaps have been postponed, and the war in Korea could probably have been prevented, if Southern Korea had been given such a pledge

Copyright 1950 by Human Events, Inc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in time. Not only because an assistance pact will deter a potential aggressor, but also because it strengthens the will of the people of the threatened territories to resist aggression.

A weakening of the will to resist in Western Germany (which until now has enjoyed no diplomatic protection) became very obvious after the outbreak of the Korean war. The man in the street said: "What good are the five Allied divisions which are stationed in the territory of the Federal Republic? When it really starts they will be the first to withdraw behind the Rhine. If they really intend to fight, America should not be afraid to give a guarantee."

Although after the outbreak of hostilities in Korea the determination of Germans in the West to stick to the West had not weakened in the least, many said: "Why should I continue to expose myself? If Eastern Germany marches we cannot hold them back without arms. And we really want to continue to live."

Many people left the CDU (Christian-Democrat Party); many small shopkeepers secretly joined the Communist Party. Many industrial companies placed advertisements with the Communist papers in order to protect themselves. Many people became members of the new East-West German organizations, often without knowledge that these apparently harmless societies which stressed the common troubles of the merchants, refugees or intellectuals in the Eastern and Western zones were inspired by the Communists.

All of these of course were naive acts which would not have benefited anyone if the trouble had really started. They were simply the expression of a will for self-preservation of a people which day by day was increasingly aware of the danger in which it lives, as well as of its own complete defenselessness. One should not overlook the fact that the German people have passed through many demoralizing periods. The guarantee for the territory of the Federal Republic will doubtless remove this fear of a catastrophe.

* * *

REVISION OF WAR CRIMES TRIALS: The political development proceeds at such a pace that the various phases are overlapping. If one were to take a snapshot of the situation it would look like the first efforts of a photographic amateur who has exposed various snaps one on top of the other because he forgot to turn the film.

While the dismantling of factories in Germany, for the sake of demilitarization, was still going on, the rearmament of Germany was being discussed in New York.

Whereas in France more than 500 Germans are still awaiting a verdict, because five years ago they were watchmen in the concentration camps of the German Occupying regime, a law has now been submitted in America conferring the authority to build concentration camps for Communists.

Until a very short time ago many took pride in the "progressive" jurisdiction in the war crimes trials. Now in Britain it is publicly demanded that the war crimes clause be withdrawn from the British military penal code -- in which it was rather rashly inserted. This is the same clause under which many German generals have been sentenced. In a letter to the Times Lord Cork and Orrery pointed out the dangers to which British and American soldiers are exposed before a North Korean military court. He writes: "Our soldiers go to war with a noose around their necks which has been placed there by their own countrymen and which eases the task of the foe's henchmen."

As far as one can judge, the results of the American war crimes trials of Germans can be summarized in two sentences. (1) From a legal point of view: A hopeless muddle of all legal conceptions has arisen, and that in the name of the Law and not in the name of Might, as in Hitler's days; the resultant situation is about the same as the difference between a time bomb and an incendiary bomb. (2) From a psychological point of view: Where too much is accused, too much is defended. In the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meantime the majority of the German people came to believe that all those sentenced by American courts and imprisoned in Landsberg are innocent martyrs -- which is by no means the case.

There are at present still about 550 condemned of whom over 200 have to serve life sentences. There are two categories: those sentenced by the Nuremberg courts -- who are under the jurisdiction of the State Department -- and those sentenced at Dachau -- who are under the jurisdiction of the Defense Department. The former category consists mainly of prominent personalities, high officials, industrialists, generals and the heads of the criminal organizations, such as "SS Einsatzgruppen", etc. The competent authority for them is the recently established Clemency Board at Frankfurt, which can grant certain remissions of sentences.

The second category -- roughly 470 -- to which belong the greater part of the prisoners of Landsberg, were originally sentenced without a proper legal trial by some sort of special army court, usually at Dachau. There is no possibility of appeal against the verdict which has been given without an oral or written justification, and there is no possibility of a retrial.

Among the 250 persons sentenced to death were quite a number for whose innocence proof has now been brought, which at the time of the trial could not be submitted or was not admitted. Unlike the defendants at Nuremberg, they are mostly small fry. There are more than 50 former Kapos -- inmates of concentration camps who at the time were entrusted with various jobs in the concentration camps and often were ordered to ill-treat their comrades. Among them there are even a few Spanish democrats who after Franco's victory were interned in France and later taken by the German Occupying Power to concentration camps.

There is a man who in 1923 as a young lieutenant in the Reichswehr was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, in a fortress, for pro-Communist activities. When he had completed his sentence in 1933 he was put into a concentration camp by the Nazis, and was made a Kapo there. In this category he worked as a medical attendant in Buchenwald Camp, which gave him the opportunity of saving various Allied officers from being put to death, thereby endangering his own life. In spite of this he was, in 1945, sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment in Dachau because he belonged to the category "Kapo". In all he has been in jail for 27 years.

There are also women in Landsberg. Women who, when salvaging their small belongings from their bombed-out homes, threatened and insulted Allied airmen who happened to be marched past them after being shot down. These airmen were ill-treated by the populace and some were done to death simply because of Goebbels' inflammatory propaganda. And those women whose names were later handed to the Allied authorities have been sentenced for aiding and abetting.

Thanks to the ceaseless efforts of a few upright Americans, a War Crimes Modification Board was established at Heidelberg at the end of 1949. But unhappily it is under the sole jurisdiction of the Commander-in-Chief in the American zone. The proceedings at this board are, therefore, solely a matter for the army authorities. The officials mostly concerned with it are the self-same persons who during the Dachau trials did not administer justice, but pronounced sentences arbitrarily. What interest have they in admitting that they erred in many instances? Not one of the people condemned is heard; no solicitor admitted. Quite absurd sentences have been confirmed by this Board.

Something must be done to break the unbearable monopoly of army justice. A new review board must be established -- as the Clemency Board was established at Frankfurt for those sentenced in Nuremberg. No one should be a member of this board who was in any way connected with the Dachau trials.

It would, however, be far better if, after the termination of the state of war with Germany, according to the traditions of international law, all those prisoners

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were freed who by normal criminal codes had committed no punishable offense. Besides, it is an absurd outcome of the American war crimes trials that as a result of the liquidation of Nazi tyranny there are today only 80 prominent but 470 "unknown war criminals"; small fry who very often were only accidental tools in the remotest regions of state administrations. The comment of the man in the street in Germany is: The small chaps must suffer, the big shots are allowed to escape.

* * *

THE I.G. FARBEN LAW: No one in Germany can understand why shortly before the New York conference (which has put an end to the former Occupation policy) Law No. 35, concerning the liquidation of the I.G. property, was promulgated by the American High Commission. This law is generally considered a relapse into the ideas of the Morgenthau era, because in this case an essential part of the German economy, without regard to German and international law, is unilaterally settled by the victorious Powers, which have given themselves a sort of general power of attorney.

A few days before the promulgation of the new law at the opening of the penicillin factory of the Farbwerke Höchst, the American High Commissioner had promised von Maltzan, the representative of the German Federal Government, that the German proposals on the question of the liquidation of the I.G. Farben concern would be considered. Shortly afterwards Law No. 35 appeared, which was not only drawn up without German co-operation but also bars the Federal Government from any possibility of future co-operation.

Law No. 35 was supposed to replace Control Council Law No. 9. Yet, it brings no change whatsoever. The I.G. still remains subject to special discriminating law. The absolute right of disposal remains without any control in the hands of the Allies, although the allegation that the I.G. Farben had taken part in the preparation of an aggressive war remains untenable in view of the Nuremberg verdict in the I.G. court case.

Contrary to any legal procedure in all civilized countries the law for the liquidation of the I.G. contains no clause for safeguarding the interests of the shareholders, the employees, the creditors and the pensioners. A time limit for the dismemberment policy is also missing, as is any clause that the "dismembered" companies will be relieved from the present "control".

Thousands of shareholders and bondholders are especially hard hit because they have been robbed of any possibility of disposing of their shares and bonds. The banks are subject to imprisonment and fines up to 200,000 Deutschmarks if they deal in I.G. shares. To the control officer the control and engagement of personnel, utilization of assets, utilization of proceeds, distribution of profits, research and anything else have still been reserved.

Admittedly there is a German liquidation committee, but article 9, clause 3 restricts its activities to consultation. The possibility of consultation, by the way, only arises "if the High Commission deems it advisable". The High Commission can "at any time dismiss any member of the liquidation committee. This committee has, under the supreme guidance of the High Commission, only to exercise such functions as will be entrusted to it by the High Commission" [retranslation from the German text].

In view of the unsettled legal position it has up to now been difficult enough for the I.G. works to deal with day-to-day questions. This situation applies to capital investment as well as to all agreements, patent applications and entries in the commercial register. It is quite unclear what is going to happen in the future as, by reason of article 4, clause Ie, all existing treaties can be terminated with no provision for compensation provided. This can happen again and again in the coming years by reason of the general power of attorney.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED